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ABSTRACT

This research study explores how sex role identity is related to the learning of communication and socialization processes in a Taiwanese kindergarten. The study hypothesized that undifferentiated baby-style verbal and nonverbal communication patterns are superceded with styles that become increasingly gender-linked, and language is viewed as a primary means by which children are socialized into gender roles and identities. This paper identifies related language and gender research studies and describes a specific study completed in Taipei (Taiwan) in 1984. Gender linked differences are illustrated in printed excerpts from two recorded children's dialogues. Results indicate that a patriarchical social order continues to exist in urban Taiwan. Gender roles that advocate unequality between the sexes are learned as part of verbal and nonverbal communication patterns, and children acquire and practice gendered meanings that indicate a developing understanding of their proper places in the larger social order. Tables and a 30-item bibliography are included. (JHP)

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THE GENDER OF CHILD DISCOURSE: SEX ROLESS AND COMMUNICATIVE STYLES AT A TAIWANESE KINDERGARTEN

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The Gender of Child Discourse: Sex Roles and Communicative Styles at a Taiwanese Kindergarten [1]

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INTRODUCTION

What is the part that discourse plays in the contruction and communication of Chinese gender identity and role? This work investigates how the communication or **display** of gender is practiced and acquired in a group of Taiwanese kindergarten children. A semeiotic framework which locates the meaning of a sign in its interpretive effect, rather than in the object for which the sign stands, is used to describe and explain this process. Videotaped conversation in its natural setting is the data base, while spoken discourse, kinesic and proxemic displays are coded for each actor. It is hypothesized that an undifferentiated "baby-style" of verbal and nonverbal communication displays is gradually superseded (at about three years of age) with communication styles which become increasingly gender-linked, at the level of stereotype (i.e., at the level of native awareness) by school age (six-seven years) of age). This research is to be seen as an interpretive semeiotic reading of verbal and nonverbal signs that mediate the social and psychological construction of the gendered Chinese self. Language use in context is placed at the center of analysis, and discourse is viewed as a primary means by which children are socialized into appropriate gender roles and identities. Specifically, an analysis

of how language socialization mediates sex role acquisition in a Chinese context can contribute to the current discourse on language, culture and gender, as well as lending a new direction to Chinese gender studies. We cannot understand gender as a social and historical construct, nor the ways in which gendered symbols affect and reflect individual's gendered conception of self and others, without a perspective on gender in the semeiotic system of a language.

Following Bambi Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs (1986), I distinguish between the study of language acquisition, the goal of which is to understand "what constitutes linguistic competence at different developmental points", and the study of language socialization, the goal of which is to understand "how persons become competent members of social groups and the role of language in this process". Socialization is seen as an interactive process in which "reality, including concepts of self and social roles, is constructed through social interaction." This perspective draws on symbolic interactionist and phenomenological approaches, and is compatible with "the Piagetian concept of the child as an active constructor of his or her own development" (1986:166-167). It is proposed that a focus on everyday discourse as a locus of sex role development can enrich and expand current sociological and psychological perspectives on the acquisition of sex and gender identity.

In the sections below, Chinese gender as a semeiotic system is

introduced, and research on language and gender is discussed. This is followed by an introduction to the setting of this study and a brief summary of findings from the Taiwanese kindergarten sample. Excerpts from two dialogues, first, a group of five to eight year old girls, and second a group of three to six year old boys, are presented, and evidence of gender-linked communication styles is described and explained. Finally, the role of discourse--i.e., language use in context--in the sex role acquistion process in Taiwan is related to the larger sociocultural universe of gendered meanings in Chinese language and society.

The Semeiotic of Chinese Gender

Shirley Ardener (1978) points out the relation between male:female and man:woman is problematic, and is susceptible to historical and cultural analyses. Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (1981) call for an understanding of sex roles in their sociocultural context which focuses on gender and sexuality as cultural or symbolic constructs. They advocate an interpretive framework in the tradition stretching from Weber to Parsons and Geertz, an actor-centered analysis which relates gender symbols to other cultural symbols on the one hand, and to "social life and social experience on the other" (1981:2). In the social construction of gender via discourse, actors interpret signs of gender in the communicative process, and use these signs in the

cognitive organization of the social categories of male/female and man/woman.

Zhong nan qing nu ("emphasize the man, de-emphasize the woman") is a Chinese chengyu or proverb which perhaps best sums up, in the form of the beloved four-character phrase, Chinese conceptions of men's and women's places in the social order. For 3,500 years an agrarian society of extended households based on patrilineal inheritance and viri-patrilocal residence in which the young were subordinate to the old and women subordinate to men, the newly industrialized and urbanized Chinese society on Taiwan has a legacy of tradition upon which 20th century changes sit as so much icing on the cake. Enduring ideals of men's and women's roles in society are in dynamic interaction with changing roles and statuses brought about by modernization processes in Taiwan. Although women in urban areas have now attained approximately equal educational levels as men, and participate in the labor market in increasing numbers, they are still subordinated to men in society at large, while their labor--both paid and unpaid--is subsumed into the patrilineal family where it is used to help raise the new generations and to succor the old. The highest ideal for women remains xian qi liang mu ("a virtuous wife and a good mother"). For men, a growing middle class and expanding economy presents new entrepreneurial and bureaucratic opportunities for personal development and familial enrichment.

Upholding and informing the Chinese social order are cultural

notions of an harmonious cosmological order in which a proper understanding of one's roles in society, and the rights and obligations that accrue to those roles, is necessary for the well-ordered functioning of society. Cultural actors draw on conventional Chinese notions of human relations (the wulun) and on yin-yang [2] cosmology to construct and sustain Chinese ideals of femininity and masculinity.

I agree with Irving Goffman (1979) that if there are behavioral styles or codings that distinguish how men and women act in social situations, we should ask about the origin and sources of these styles. Gender information is communicated through verbal and nonverbal codes. In the verbal code, prosodic and paralinguisitc features, as major carriers of expressive meaning (Crystal, 1971) are important resources for the encoding of social deixis. Special lexical items, morphology, topic of discourse and verbal genres may all encode gender. In the nonverbal code, kinesic and proxemic displays communicate gender via hand and facial gestures as well as body postioning. Proxemic displays include the personal and interpersonal use of space, the meaning and use of which is encoded in culturally specific ways. Yan gang yin rou (Yang is hardness, Yin is softness") is an organizing principle for the presentation of the gendered Chinese self, in which posture, dress, gestures and speech show sex-linked complementarity, especially during the courtship years. These verbal and nonverbal communication features are not to be

understood in isolation but rather in concert, and moreover, meaning or significance is understood as penetrating each level. Following Friedrich (1975:207), I see the linguistic code as semantic at all levels; rather than being peripheral to linguistics or grammar, "one may assume that grammatical structures are always directly or implicitly semantic."

Research on Language and Gender

Language and gender research in the West has developed within either an American or a French feminist tradition. Deborah Cameron (1985:2) asserts that "feminist awareness of language as an issue has never been greater" while disparate research on language and gender has no coherent thread linking such diverse perspectives as sex as a sociolinguistic variable (the American school) to language as an instrument of the oppressor, which must be wrestled away and reinscribed with/through the voices of the oppressed (the French school).

Work on language and gender in America has largely located itself in the sociolinguistic tradition, taking the sex of speaker (and sometimes of listener and of audience) as the dependent variable, and asking how variations in the formal message in the same setting can signal sex-linked differences in social identity. Barrie Thorne et al. (1983:13) note that this research has often taken men's speech as a standard and then asked how women's speech deviates from it. Differences have been found, for instance, in

greater use of expressive prosodic features by women than men, in a closer adherence to standard or received pronunciation by women, in greater use of politeness strategies by women, in discourse content of all-women versus all men-groups, in discourse strategies such as greater interruptions of women by men than vice versa, and in a womanly penchant for doing "support work" in cross-sex dialogues. However, Thorne et al. note, results of many studies of isolated speech variables and sex-linked usage have been complex and often contradictory, pointing to the need to study other contextual variables in the production of speech (1983:12).

A major problem in the study of sociolinguistic variables is uncovering just what contextual features (the object) the variables encode. Many features associated with variable use by gender may also be exploited for the encoding of formality, politeness, solidarity, etc. A second major problem in these studies is just what the features evoke (their interpretants). I agree with Philip Smith (1979:119) that we must consider as problematic that the implications of using a particular feature is the same for women as for men speakers, and the same for female as for male listeners. In other words, the linguistic sign may have different faces, may evoke different interpretants, depending on the social actors involved.

Much of the research on language and gender in America has been inspired by Robin Lakoff's (1973) claim, based on native

intuition, that women's speech has features which signal "powerlessness". Researchers have empirically tested her speculations about women's speech (e.g. women use more tag-questions =uncertainty =powerlessness) with mixed results. Lately, interest has shifted to language use in context, in which the strategic uses of language are linked to the speaker's position in the social structure. Thorne et al. argue that women's speech strategies, such as interaction work and politeness styles can be understood in part as ways of coping with greater male power (1983:15) [3]. This position in turn has led some American feminists, such as Mary Daly, Adrienne Rich, Dale Spender and others, to examine language as symbol systems closely tied to patriarchal social structures, and to draw close ties between symbolic structures and experience.

This shift in emphasis from a focus on language-internal features which possibly encode gendered meanings (although research on sex-linked social dialects goes on) to an emphasis on the language-external social and cultural context of discourse production bridges the Atlantic, as it were, and ties into the French feminist preoccupation with the language/sex/power nexus. Thorne et al. note that these French feminists share a tradition anchored in existentialism, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and post-structuralism, locating women's oppression "in the production of discourse and meaning", which constitute men as subjects and women as "absence" or "other." The French feminists relate language to the unconscious and the body, and they seek to "inscribe women's experiences in language and thought" through "rupturing discourse" (1983:12). I believe that a fruitful blending of French and American approaches to the relationship of language and gender can be achieved not by abandoning empirical research into gender-linked differences in language use, but by describing and interpreting these differences in terms of the larger sociocultural discourse on gendered meanings.

LANGUAGE AND GENDER IN TAIWAN

Elsewhere (Farris, 1988a) I have argued that gender as a covert category exists in Chinese grammar and motivates surface structure forms. The feminine is almost always the marked form, while the masculine exists as the unmarked or canonical form. Stereotypes

about Woman as Other act as a priori categories which determine how people communicate about and towards "women" and "men", which themselves are signs constructed in the semeiotic of social discourse. Children draw on their developing tacit understanding of the unequal complementarity of the sexes in Taiwanese society to practice and produce verbal and nonverbal gender displays.

Language Socialization and Sex Role Development

In contrast to previous studies of sex role acquisition, the present study takes language socialization as a primary means by which gender identity and role are practiced and acquired. Following Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), I see language socialization beginning at the moment of social contact that is, at birth, as "vocal and verbal activities are generally socially organized and embedded in cultural systems of meaning" (1986:164). We can investigate both language use as a medium of the socialization process, and the acquisition of appropriate uses of language as part of acquiring social competence (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986:167). Children as active constructors of their emerging social realities appropriate cultural meanings of gender and other cultural symbols from the discourse context and use these signs in the cognitive organization of social categories. This is akin to the Vygotskian perspective in which higher order mental processes are conceptualized as mediated by language, and are a product of social interaction. As Werstch (1985a:51) notes, Vygotsky argued

that "the mastery of sign systems **transforms** existing forms of mental functioning in the individual." These uniquely human, higher mental functions have social origins and retain an inherently social nature.

The semeiotic perspective, as articulated by C.S. Peirce (1958), follows Plato in viewing thinking as dialogic in nature, and thus, a semeiotic process of sign production. If we can only know ourselves through the mediation of psychological (internal) and social (external) signs, how can we know our own gender identity except in the same way? How we come to know ourselves as sexual beings of a certain gender is a result of this internal and external dialogue, both during maturation and adulthood. I draw on insights from such models (e.g., Peirce, Vygotsky) of the semeiotic mediation of mental and social life to examine the gendered self in a Chinese context. The goal of language socialization studies is to link microlevel analysis of child discourse "to more general ethnographic accounts of cultural beliefs and practices of families, social groups, or communitities into which children are socialized" (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986:168).

Using Vygotsky's observations into the mediating role of language in the development of the social self, cultural stereotypes are seen to play a crucial role in the development and maintenance of gender differences. Speech stereotypes, in the Labovian sense [4] of social markers in speech which have risen to

overt social consciousness, characterize the way the sexes are thought to speak, as well as other forms of social behavior, participate in the semeiotic dialogue of society, and are available to actors as members of the speech community. It is appropriate to ask what gender-linked stereotypes that are encoded in language teach children about the social categories of "men" and "women".

Language and Sex Roles in a Taiwanese Kindergarten

This paper is based on data collected in Taipei, Taiwan, the Republic of China, in 1984. Participant observation in a small kindergarten includes journal notes, interactions with teachers, children, and less often, with parents, and is supplemented by six hours of VHS videotaping at the end of an eight month period. The kindergarten had three classes (xiaoban, "little class", zhongban, "middle class", and daban, "big class") of approximately 30 students total, with two teachers and assorted school age siblingss as visitors. A native speaker [5] transcribed the videotapes for verbatim text. I then transcribed prosodic and paralinguistic cues, as well as aspects of kinesic and proxemic displays. In the section below, I describe the sociocultural milieu of gendered discourse in Taiwanese society, and relate that discourse to the kindergarten culture, where children act out with gesture and word, their developing understanding of their places in the wider social order.

In an article on sex differences in language use in Chinese, Shih Yu-hwei (1984) discusses common stereotypes about men's and women's speech styles in the Taiwan speech community. Men's speech is characterized as direct, unemotional, even curt, learned and elegant on formal occassions, but possessing what Trudgill (1974) refers to a "covert prestige"--that is, use of non-standard pronunciation, slang expressions, and vulgarity, associated with working class speech and having "tough", masculine connotations--on informal occassions. In contrast, women's speech is characterized as indirect, emotional, circumlocutious, garrulous, silly, and soft. Men's speech styles, Shih asserts, emphasize the hardness (gang) of men, while women's styles reflect the softness (rou) of women. This hardness and softness are viewed by native speakers as men's and women's defining characteristics (texing).

In conservations with informants I became aware of a culturally significant communication style, emically encoded in the language as sajiao, and stereotypically associated with the speech of young women and with young children of both sexes. The sajiao communication style may be characterized as a studied petulance, strategically deployed by children in interactions with parents or other caregivers, and by young women in interactions with fathers, boyfriends, husbands, employers, etc., for short or long range goals which the listener is unwilling to yield. Boys are thought to outgrow the style by early school years, while

girls are thought to retain sajiao as a strategic communication style into young adulthood. This style is communicated via features of the verbal and nonverbal codes. Verbally, it is comprised of nasal voice quality, lento or slow speech, use of certain sentence final particles (ma and la), and use of affected lexical items (notably xiao pengyou--"little friends", i.e., "children" and renjia, usually meaning "others", but also used as a modest first person pronoun). Nonverbally, sajiao is communicated via kinesic displays such as pouting and eye rolling, as well as an affected or "swishy" manner of walking. The message of sajiao--"I'm adorably upset because you're not doing what I want"--is intensified when more of these verbal and nonverbal features co-occur (see Farris 1988b for an extended discussion of this style in Chinese).

Many of the marked speech features in the teachers' communication with the children in this kindergarten sample coincide with baby talk features in the speech of adults and older children to very young children, which have been noted in a variety of unrelated languages in the world (Ferguson, 1977). It is significant that a number of these baby talk features are also associated with the speech of young unmarried women in Taiwanese society. This is surely more than a coincidence and is susceptible to a sociocultural explanation.

Evidence of baby talk from a wide variety of unrelated languages strongly suggests that it is a universal phenomenon. Researchers are less sure how to characterize why baby talk occurs and what functions it plays in language acquisition and socialization processes. According to Ferguson (1977:212-216), baby talk is a simplified register composed of three functions or components: asimplification, clarification, and expression. The most common simplifying process is phonological reduction--the substitution of difficult or marked sounds for ones more easy to articulate. Other simplifying processes include the avoidance of first and second person pronouns, and their replacement with other forms of address, such as proper names. Clarifying processes encompass a modification in the direction of greater redundency: slow articulation (lento speech), repetition, increased loudness and paraphrasing. Expressive processes function to add affect through diminutive and hypocoristic forms (i.e., pet names or

terms of endearment), tag questions such as 'see?','OK?', sound symbolism, and euphemisms. Use of baby talk by adults to children is seen as improving communication, facilitating the expression of emotion toward the child, and socializing the child into knowledge of various roles (Ferguson, 1977:232).

The primary function of baby talk is to communicate with babies, but secondary functions or uses of baby talk have been reported for a number of languages, in which baby talk is addressed to adults or even non-human objects. In the secondary function some aspect of the adult-child communication is evoked (Ferguson, 1977:229). While these functions of baby talk have not been reported for all languages which have been investigated, the following secondary functions have been noted for a variety of languages: talk to animals, nurturant caretaking situations such as to hospital patients and elderly people, and between intimate friends and lovers. In the secondary uses of baby talk, all of the features of baby talk found in its primary function are not used, rather, certain features appear to be selected as more appropriate for a given situation (Ferguson, 1977:230-231).

Several features of the baby talk register in Chinese are stereotypically associated with the speech of young women in Taiwanese society, namely, lento speech, diminutive and hypocoristic forms (i.e., pet names) and the avoidance of second and third person pronouns. The last feature is of particular interest in light of the special lexical item renjia,, usually

meaning "others" but also used as a modest first person pronoun [6], and associated with the speech of girls and young women. I believe that the continued association of these baby talk features, along with a nasalized voice quality and certain affective sentence final particles (la and ma) with the speech of young women, is intensified during the courtship years for the purpose of evoking the parent-child relation.

But the association of baby talk features with gendered communication styles is less straightforward than it first appears. Certain baby talk features are associated,in the kindergarten sample with the speech of boys rather than with the speech of girls, namely, increased loudness, and sound symbolism or onomatopoeia. In addition, the present study found that several features stereotypically associated with the speech of young women in Taiwanese society are linked to greater use by boys (nasality) or show age rather than or in addition to gender-linked patterns of use (the lexical item renjia, and the sentence final particles la, ou, and e). A more complex explanation of the sequence of language socialization and gendered speech in Chinese is therefore in order.

Speech features that become associated with one gender may actually be displayed more frequently by the other earlier and may also be displayed by the other sex in adult communication in certain settings. Despite the strong association in the minds of native actors of the sajiao style, first with young unmarried

women, and second, with young children, the videotaped data and journal observations point to its greater use by certain boys of all ages (2 1/2-6 years), in speech to women, than by girls. While girls were observed to use features associated with the sajiao style to indicate petulance or affectation, namely, nasality, tempo shifts, special lexical items, affective sentence final particles and kinesic displays, this style was directed at other girls. In contrast, certain boys from each of the age groups, but especially the younger boys, either occasionally or habitually directed the sajiao style at the teachers. Most of the daban boys had abandoned the sajiao style for a more typically boyish style, which I refer to as a "rough and tumble" style.

In the present sample, for the older kindergarten boys, the babyish sajiao communication style is already being replaced with a boyish "rough and tumble" style which is undoubtedly intensified and perfected in school age years. Verbally this masculine style includes an increase in volume, even to the point of shouting, a husky voice quality, the use of slang, name calling and vulgarity, and "thing-orientation" as reflected in semantic case and in topical choice. Onomatopoeia, however, is probably abandoned as babyish by school age boys. Nonverbally, the "rough and tumble" style of boys is evident in a "frown face, indicating seriousness of purpose, and in an action orientation encompassing expansive body movements. While most of the daban boys in the kindergarten sample displayed these features of a developing masculine

communication style, zhongban boys were also observed to imitate the older boys' play, shouting, and name calling behaviors while at the same time continuing to exhibit some babyish "soft" communication features such as nasality and pouting, associated with the sajiao style of women and young children.

As for the communication style associated with girls, I hypothesize that nursery school age girls (1-3 years), deploy the sajiao and other babyish communication features, particularly in the home setting, and continue to sajiao through the kindergarten and school years. By late kindergarten age (5-6 years) and perhaps earlier if girls have younger siblings, girls are also practicing and producing an authoritarian "mothering" style of communication. During the courtship years, girls must then learn to delicately combine these two contradictory styles for maximum effect. That is, in order to attract a potential mate, girls must deploy the sajiao technique, evoking the father/daughter relation, while at the same time insinuating that these roles will be reversed in time, thus implying the mother/son relation. Indeed, Hill Gates (1987) suggests that this is exactly what happens in established marriages in Taiwan; men come to accept and depend on their wives in the mothering role just as they used to depend on their own mothers as children.

In the kindergarten sample, girls displayed real or affected petulance via such features as tempo shifts, special lexical items, affective sentence final particles, and kinesic cues such

as pouting and glancing out of the side of the eyes. Use of nasality as a feature of this communication style was less evident than for boys. The girls commonly directed such displays, not at the teachers, as in the case of boys who did sajiao, but rather, at each other. This makes sense if same sex groups are viewed as those settings in which gender appropriate behaviors are practiced and produced. Several daban girls, as well as the school age girls present also displayed elements of an authoritarian mothering style. This is seen in the issuing of directives and instructions and in adult-like posturing and hand gestures. Adult-like behavior in general is also implied in the avoidance of onomatopoeia, a feature linked to baby talk, in the speech of all the girls.

The Gender of Child Discourse: Two Examples from a Taiwan Speech Community

Over half of the children in this sample were five years old or older, and with their numbers and greater maturity, they dominated this kindergarten culture. Students were videotaped playing inside the classroom under the supervision of teachers, and outside on the playground in self-selected, unsupervised play. Both groups were usually composed of one sex, although there is obviously also interaction across sexes, with some children acting as "bridges" between their same sex group and the other group. In the following two examples, daban girls along with a school age (eight years old) visitor, are working with paper cutouts in the

classroom. The scene of daban boys, with zhongban boys on the periphery, takes place outside on the playground and centers around playfighting taikong zhanshi, "space warriors", from a popular televion show.

The settings are not strictly comparable because the boys are outside playing an active game with no teacher involvement, while the girls are inside doing craft work under the loose supervision of the teachers. However, it should be pointed out that girls were never observed to play such gongfu (English: "kungfu") games, but instead usually played less active games and in smaller groups [7]. Although all children engage in craftwork inside the classroom, interesting differences are apparent in the style and substance of the boys' and the girls' discourse as they chat while working. These gender-linked differences in self presentation of kindergarten age children in Taiwan are exemplified in the excerpts from two recorded dialogues which are presented below. Same sex play groups are seen as those settings in which children practice and produce sex-appropriate behaviors. A discussion of co-occuring gender-linked verbal and nonverbal communication features in the dialogues follows their presentation. For transcribing and grammatical conventions, the reader is referred to tables 1 and 2.

GENDERED DISCOURSE: TWO DIALOGUES

Dialogue 1: Daban girls

Scene: In the classroom. The students are putting paper cutouts into plastic bags.

Participants

G1: Meiling, 5 yrs
G2: older girl, 8 yrs
G3: Hebei, 5 yrs
G4: Biaojie ("different surname cousin"), 5+ yrs.
Lils: teacher Li, offstage

[G2 is standing next to G3. G1 sits across the table from them. G1 looks at G2 and says:]

1.G1: Zemme bu jiao renjia mingzi de a? Aiyo!
How not call others name NOM a? Aiyo!

How is it that you don't call others by their name ah? Good grief!

2.G2: Wo zemme zhidao ni jiao shemme mingzi?
I how know you call what name?

Qiguai le!
Strange CRS!

How do I know what your name is? How strange!

[She leans across the table and lifts up G1's name tag to read it.]

3.G2: Wo kan-yi-kan! Zhang...Zhang shemme?
I look one look! Zhang...Zhang what?

Zha:ng, Zhang Yanjing hao le!
Zha:ng, Zhang-colored-flowery good PFV/CRS!

I'll just have a look! Zhang...Zhang what? Zhang "colored-flowery", that's it!

[G1 waves a plastic bag in G2's face, saying:]

4.G1: ((forte)) Zhang Yanjing,
Zhang-swallow-flowery,

fayin bu zhun!
pronounciatin not standard!

It's Zhang "swallow-flowery"; your pronounciation is not standard!

[She turns her head away, chin in hand, and pouts.]

5.G3: Zhang Yanjing! ( ) ha ha!
Zhang-colored-flowery! ( ) ha ha!

Zhang "colored-flowery". Ha ha!

[G1 stands up, yelling in G2's face:]

6.G1: ((forte)) Zhang Yanjing!
Zhang swallow-flowery!

It's Zhang "swallow flowery"!

[G2 points to G1's name tag and says:]

7.G2: Zhei ge you po- yin - zi e! Zhei ge
This CL have broken-sound-character e! This CL

you po-yin-zi e!
have broken-sound-character e!

((lento)) Zhang Yanjing jiu shi
Zhang Yanjing then be

"zang* yinjing"! He he!
"dirty eyes"! Ha ha!

This is a character pronounced differently with a different meaning eh. This is a character pronounced differently with a different meaning eh. "Zhang* Yanjing" then is "zang* yanjing", "dirty eyes"!

8.G1: ((forte)) Zhang Yanjing! ((forte)) Ben a!
Zhang-swallow-flowery! Stupid a!

Ben de xiang ge zhu yiyang!//
Stupid CSC resemble CL pig one-same!

It's Zhang-swallow-flowery! Stupid ah! As stupid as a pig!

9.LiLs:((offstage)) [Shei qing] ni chuqu de a?
Who invite you exit-go NOM a?

And who asked you to go out ah?

10.G3: "Zang yanjing"! He he!
"Dirty eyes"! Ha ha!

"Dirty eyes"! Haa...

11.G3: Ni ganma ma renjia shi zhu a?
You what:for scold others be pig a?

Ni ziji bu hui shi zhu a?
You self not likely be pig a?

What for do you scold others as being pigs ah? Isn't it likely that you yourself are the pig ah?

12.G1: Wo bu shi shu zhu de a!
I not be belong pig NOM a!

Wo shi shu yang de!
I be belong sheep NOM!

I'm not one who belongs to the (celestial sign of the) pig ah! (Rather), I am one who belongs to the sheep!

13.G4: Wo ye shi shu yang e!
I also be belong sheep e!

I'm also one who belongs to the sheep eh!

14.G3: Wo ye shi shu yang!
I also be belong sheep!

I'm also one who belongs to the sheep!

15.G2: Na, wo bu shi shu yang:
Well, I not be belong sheep!

Well, I don't belong to the sheep!

16.G3: Ni shi shu ((nasal)) shemme?
You be belong what?

Which one do you belong to?

17.G2: Wo shu long!
I belong dragon!

I belong to the dragon!

[G3 points to G2 beside her, saying:]

18.G3: Ta shu long. Ta shu long.
She belong dragon. She belong dragon.

Ta shu long!
She belong dragon!

She belongs to the dragon. She belongs to the dragon. She belongs to the dragon!

[G1 stands up saying:]

19.G1: E? Shu long? Gen wo ba
E? Belong dragon? With I pa

yi -yang shu long.
one-same belong dragon.

Eh? (You) belong to the dragon? The same as my pa, belong to the dragon.

20.G2: Wo ba shu zhu.
I pa belong pig.

My pa belongs to the pig.

[G3 reaches out and touches G1's hand, saying:]

21.G3: Wo gaosu ni ou. Wo ma shu zhu e! Wo pa
I tell you ou. I ma belong pig e! I pa

shu houzi. Wo meimei shu tu.
belong monkey. I younger-sister belong hare.

I'll tell you oh. My ma belongs to the pig eh. My pa belongs to the monkey. My younger sister belongs to the hare.

22.G2: Wo mama shu tu. Ranhou wo// [baba shu zhu.]
I mama belong hare. Then ı papa belong pig.

My mama belongs to the hare. Further, my papa belongs to the pig.

23.G3: [Wo meimei] shu tu, ranhou wo baba
I younger-sister belong hare, then I papa

shu houzi. Wo mama shu zhu.
belong monkey. I mama belong pig.

My younger sister belongs to the hare. Further, my papa belongs to the monkey. My mama belongs to the pig.

24.G2: Wo didi gen ni yi- yang
I younger-brother with you one-same

shu yang. Danshi wo jiejie
belong sheep. However I older-sister

shu laohu. Wo shu long. Wo mama,
belong tiger. I belong dragon. I mama,

shu xiao tuzi, he he. Wo baba shu zhu.//
belong little hare, ha ha. I papa belong pig.

My younger brother is the same as you--he belongs to the sheep. However, my older sister belongs to the tiger. I belong to the dragon. My mother belongs to the little hare. My papa belongs to the pig.

[G3 pats G2 on the arm, saying:]

25.G3: [E]. Ni jiejie ((lento)) jiao shemme mingzi?
E. Your older-sister call what name?

Eh?! What's your older sister's name?

26.G2: ((lento)) Zhang Tianming!
Zhang quiet-bright!

(Name)

27.G3: Ou! Wo ye zhidao ni jiejie
Ou! I also know you older-sister

((lento)) jiao shemme mingzi. ( )
call what name. ( )

Oh! I also knew your older sister's name. ( ).

28.G3: Wo jiejie cengjing gaosu wo shuo.
I older-sister already tell I say.

Ni de jiejie jiao Zhang Tianming.
You GEN older-sister call Zhang Tianming.

My older sister already told me. Your older sister is called Zhang quiet-bright.

29.G2: Shei?
Who?

Who (told you)?

30.G3: Wo jiejie gaosu wo guo ni de jiejie
I older-sister tell I EXP you GEN older-sister

jiaozuo Zhang Tianming!((pause)) Wo hai jide.=
call do Zhang tian-ming. I still remember.

My older sister told me saying: your older sister is called Zhang quiet-bright. Now I remember.

31.G2: Ni jiejie gaosu ni ganma

You older-sister tell you what:for?

What for did your older sister tell you?

32.G2: Shuo ni de da jie
Say you GEN big older-sister

jiao zuo ((lento)) Zhang Tianming.
call EXP Zhang quiet-bright.

(She) said your big sister was called Zhang quiet-bright.

33.G2: Na ge shi wo da jie.
That Cl be I big older-sister.

Zhang Tianming shi gen ta
Zhang quiet-bright be with she

tong ban de a!
same class NOM a!.

That's my big sister. Zhang quiet-bright is in the same class as she ah.

[Pause. The girls start throwing plastic bags at each other. G2 starts grabbing G1's bags.]

34.G4: ((nasal)) Hai wo la!
Still I la!

((nasal, forte)) Hai wo la!
Still I la!

((nasal,forte)) Hai wo la!
Still I la!

((This round repeat many more times))

These are mine too la! These are mine too la! These are mine too la!

35.G1: Mei you le!
Not exist PFV/CRS!

That isn't the case!

[G3 says to G2:]

36.G3: Gei ni. Song ni! Bu yao!
Give you. Gift you! Not want!

(I) give it to you. Make a gift to you. (I) don't want it!

[G2 and G3 lean into the table top, their heads almost touching it.]

37.G2: Ni bu shi shuo ni yao song wo?
You not be say you want gift I?

Didn't you say you wanted to me a gift (of them)?

38.G3: Mei you!
Not exist!

No indeed!

39.LiLs:((offstage)) Nimen deng yi-xia.
You all wait one-minute.

Laoshi lingwai na daizi gei nimen zhuang.
Teacher another take bag give you all pack.

You-all wait a minute. Teacher will take another bag and give you.

40.G3: Mei you, mei you, mei you...
Not exist, not exist, not exist...

That's not so, not so, not so...

fini

Dialogue 2: Space Warriors

Participants:

B1: Didi ("little brother"), 5 years
B2: Jingguo, 5 years
B3: Gege ("big brother"), 5 years
B4: Yanguang, 5 years
G1: Meimei ("younger sister" of B3), 4+ years
various zhongban and xiaoban boys, audience only

Scene: B2, B3, and B4 are standing near the top of the jungle gym, their hands pressed palms together, in a gongfu "power surge". B1 is standing on the ground in front of them. Several zhongban boys are hanging out at the jungle gym also.

1.B1: ((forte)) Nimen yao bu yao wan
You-all want not want play

"Taikong Zhanshi"?
"Space Warriors?"

Do you-all want to play "Space Warriors"?

2.Boys: Yao!
want!

Yes!

3.B1: ((forte)) Hao a! Xialai la!
OK a! Descend-down la!

OK a! Get down la!

[B1 climbs up on the jungle gym, facing the other boys]

4.B1: ((forte)) Xialai wan "Taikong Zhanshi"!
Descend-down, play "Space Warrriors!"

Xialai wan "Taikong Zhanshi"!

Descend-down play "Space Warriors!"

Get down and play "Space Warriors!" Get down and play "Space Warriors.!"

5.B2: Hao la!
OK la!

OK la!

6.B3: Yi zhi guaiwu sidiao le. Wo qu jiu!
One CL strange-thing die-off CRS. I go save!

A beast is about to die! I'll go save it!

[B3 climbs off the jungle gym and runs off.]

7.B4: Wo cai qu jiu!
I then go save!

Me too! I'll be the one to go save it!

[He gets down and runs off.]

8.B1: Wo qu!
I go!

I'll go!

[B1 climbs off and runs away.]

9.B2:((forte)) San ge ren qu jiu!
Three CL people go save!

The three of us will go save it!

[B2 climbs off and runs away.]

10.B1:((offstage)) "Taikong Zhanshi" lai le!
"Space Warriors" come PVF/CRS!

The space warriors have come!

[The action moves to the empty space between the slides and the restrooms. Several zhongban and xiaoban boys are wandering around on the fringes of the action, but the daban boys ignore them.]

11.B1: Jin Long!
Gold Dragon!

It's Gold Dragon!

12.B2: Jin Long!
Gold Dragon!

13.B1: Jin Long yao zheiyangzi!
Gold Dragon must this-way!

Gold Dragon should be this way!

[B1 bends forward at the waist and thrusts both hands straight in front of him.]

14.B2: Jin Long yao zheiyang!
Gold Dragon must this-way!

Gold Dragon should be <u>this</u> way!

[B2 raises his arms above his head.]

15.B1:((forte)) Jin Long yao zheiyang!
Gold Dragon must this-way!

16.B2: Jin Long yao zheiyang!
Gold Dragon must this-way!

[This round repeated several more times.]

17.B2: ((forte, husky)) Zheiyang! Zheiyang!
This-way! This-way!

[He jumps up and down].

No, this way! This way!

18.B2: Hao la!
Good la!

Alright la!

19.B1: Wo shi Jin Long!
I be Gold Dragon!

[He holds his arms above his head.]

I'm Gold Dragon!

20.B2: Jin Long bu neng zheiyang!
Gold Dragon not can this-way!

Gold Dragon can't be this way!

21.B2: Da a!
Hit a!

Hit a!

[They run off, play fight, and re-group. the <u>daban</u> and <u>zhongban</u> boys, with G1, press palms together in a "power surge", humming "Mmmmm", then release and run over near the jungle gym, continuing to play fight, saying, "peng peng peng!"]

22.B3: Sha Jin Long!
Kill Gold Dragon!

Kill Gold Dragon!

23.B3: Kan-kan women de lihai::!
Look look we GEN ferociousness!

Take a look at how ferocious we are!

[B3 slaps the air in front of B1]

Peng, peng, peng!
"Pow, pow, pow"!

[B1 pushes B3's hands away]

24.B1: Wo shi Jin Hu. Ni bu,
I be Gold Tiger. You not,

ni bu neng da Jin Hu.
you not able hit Gold Tiger.

I'm Gold Tiger. You can't, you can't hit Gold Tiger!

25.B3: Hao a.
OK a.

OK a.

[B3 climbs up the slide; B1 follows behind him.]
[B3 climbs up the slide; B1 follows behind him.]

26.B3: Jin Hu women zhe meiyou le.
Gold Tiger we here not-exist CRS.

As for Gold Tiger, we don't have (such a one) here.

[B3 points toward the school building.]

27.B3:((forte)) Ou. Jin Hu zai nar!
Oh. Gold Tiger at there!

Oh! Gold Tiger is over there!

[As B1 speaks, B3 becomes aware of the camera; he tilts his head sideways and grins, then snaps back into the play scenerio.]

28.B1: Wo cai shi Jin Hu.
I then be Gold Tiger.

Jin Hu shi nan-sheng.
Gold Tiger be male-student.

Well, but I am Gold Tiger. Gold Tiger is a boy-student.

[B3 begins to slide downward, crouching on his feet, with B1 sliding backwards in front of him. B3 waves his hand back and forth in B1's face, saying: "Ha, ha, ha, ha!"]

29.B.1: Bu yao da "Taikong Zhanshi" la!
Not must hit "Space Warrior" la!

Don't hit a space warrior la!

30.B3: Hao la. Qu da ren le la!
Ok la. Go hit people CRS la!

Ok. Then (we'll) go hit others la!

31.B1: ((forte)) Da huai ren la!
Hit bad people la!

Hit bad people la!

[B3 runs off. B1 says to G1:]

32.B1: Jin Hu shi Taikong Zhanshi.
Gold Tiger be Space Warrior.

Gold Tiger is a space warrior.

[She rasies her arms in front of her face.]

33.B1: Bu yao da women. Zou!
Not must hit us. Go!

Don't hit us. Let's go!

[He leads her off. They run over in front of the slides. B1, B3 and G2 begin play hitting two of the xiaoban boys.]

34.B1: Mei a, Mei a
Younger-sister a, younger-sister a

women da liu hu.
we hit six tiger.

Little sister ah, little sister ah we want to hit the sixth Tiger.

35.B1: Suoyi ni yao zheiyang.
Therefore you must this-way.

[He holds his arms straight out at his side, level with the ground.]

So, you want to do like this.

36.B1: Na wo zheiyang,
Then I this-way,

[He holds his arms straight out in front of his body, then, to his side again.]

na ni zheiyang.
then you this-way.

Then I do like this, then you do like this.

37.B1: Wo zheiyang; na ni zheiyang.
I this-way; then you this-way.

I'm like this, then you're like this.

38.B1: Wo zheiyang. Mei ya.
I this-way. Younger-sister ya.

I'm this way. Little-sister a.

39.B1: Ni zheiyang; wo zheiyang.
You this-way; I this-way.

You do it like this and I do like this.

[Now they are lined up in the proper stances, B3 in back with arms raised over his head, G1, in the middle, with arms out to sides, and B1, in front, with arms out in front. They scream and gesticulate "throwing" their power out through their hands. Some younger boys face them, practicing gongfu gestures.]

40.B1: Mmmm. Mmmmm. Peng, peng! Zai yi ci!
Humm. Hummm. Peng, peng! Again one time!

Mmmm. Mmmmm. Peng, peng! Zai yi ci!
Humm. Hummm. Peng, peng! Again one time!

Mmmmmmm. Pow! (Do it) once again! Mmmmmm. Pow! Once again!

[Many boys play fight in pairs; there is much hollering.]

fini

ANALYSIS

The above description of how verbal and nonverbal features of a Chinese communication code function in discourse reveals sex and

gender linked patterns. These include features of phonology, morphology, lexicon, discourse structure and topic, as well as in kinesic and proxemic displays. Semantics are seen to penetrate all levels of the linguistic code [8]. Gender and other socially and culturally constructed meaning systems are reflected in and help structure the grammar.

The Gender of Child Discourse in Taiwan

Dialogue 1, "Daban Girls" is perhaps the best example in my data set of young Taiwanese girls' communicative style. The topic of discourse, the use of special lexical and morphological items, prosodic and paralinguistic features, and kinesic displays all come together to convey the appropriate impression of Chinese femininity. In line 1 Meiling (G1) uses the coy renjia in referring to herself, then after line 4, she pouts, chin in hand, in feigned annoyance at the other girl. In line 7, the schoolage visitor (G2) is able to make a pun on Meiling's name (Zhang Yanjing is zang yanjing, "dirty eyes") because the loss of retroflex sounds in Taiyu has created the homophones zhang-zang. The whole tone of this discourse is friendly, and Meiling is clearly not "really" angry. In line 11, Hebei (G3) scolds Meiling, but her tone and accompanying smile indicate that it is good-natured scolding. Notice in lines 25, 26, and 27 where Hebei asks the older girl what her "jiejie" ("older sister")'s name is, and she replies, that they match slow tempos. Then in line 32, still on the same topic, Hebei again slows her tempo in

mid-utterance to repeat the girl's name. The function of these tempo shifts is not clear, but possibly signals friendly inquiry. It may also function as a memorization device.

The topics of this discourse also appear to be gender-linked. The native speaker who transcribed these tapes noted that the detail with which the girls list the celestial sign of every member of their families is knowledge that boys are not likely to know or be interested in displaying. Notice that in line 23, Hebei simply repeats the same listing of her familiy's celestial signs as she has just listed in line 21, albeit in a different order. The sub-text that Hebei and the older girl discourse on, i.e., the identity of the latter's older sister, also has gender-linked connotations. In earlier dialogues, Hebei has displayed her detailed knowledge of her agemates' full names, and also her interest in correctly placing people in her social universe.

The discourse switches to a playful action sequence after line 33, when the three main actors begin tossing plastic bags or pieces of torn paper at one another. Meiling's repetitions of "Hai wo la!" in line 34 is especially sajiao, the tone of voice (nasal) reinforced by the use of the sentence final particle la with an even-falling pitch. Taken as a whole, this discourse as a display of how socially adept girls interact with one another is both an excellent example for the researcher, and for other girls as audience and participants.

Turning to the example of boys' discourse in Dialogue 2, "Space Warriors", it appears that in this action-packed sequence, the

verbal communication complements the nonverbal, rather than vice versa. The utterances are generally short and to the point. Shouting is emphasized, and the impatient and babyish sentence final particle la, is frequently used. These boys will be good solders for tomorrow's army [9]. Gongfu is a favorite game of the daban boys, but the younger boys also imitate them in their play. As I remarked earlier, the girls never play gongfu, even though the many historical dramas on television feature women adept in its arts. The only exception to this rule is the meimei ("younger sister") of one of the boys, who was playing with them in this sequence. However, she is present only because she always stays close to her brother's side, and never associates with the other girls. Her ineptitude at gongfu is apparent when, in lines 34-36 Didi is trying to show her the proper stance, which she finally, but clumsily achieves. She is allowed to play with the daban boys because of the popularity of her brother, who, along with Didi, is a real "boys' boy". The younger boys, although eager to assert their boyhood in gongfu play, must be content for the time being to play at the periphery of the older boys' games.

An important and unexpected finding in the Taiwan kindergarten sample was the use of onomatopoeia by boys of all ages. Such a gender-linked speech feature has also been noted in an American English speech community (Haas, 1979). In the examples from dialogue 2 above, the xiaoban, zhongban and daban boys (three to six years) produced onomatopoeia associated with gongfu play-fighting. In other dialogues, boys of all ages were also

found to use a variety of onomatopoiea. Whereas only one girl, a daban girl, produced a token of the car motor sound ("ung ung"), shortly after her younger brother produced such a token. In addition, one teacher, in a whispered voice, produced the sound of scissors ("qiu qiu") and of a bug biting ("kequ kequ"), while talking to the students en masse.

The large number of tokens of onomatopoiea from the older group of boys, and its absence in the older girls, is worthy of note. If onomatopoeia is a component of baby talk register, then its production by the older boys in this sample and its avoidance by girls possibly signals the boys' desire to retain the immaturity and dependence of very young childhood, and the girls' corresponding eagerness to assert their growing social maturity.

Eugene Hunn (Personal communication) argues that a complementary explanation for the gender-linked use of onomatopoeia by boys in the present study has to do with their greater amount of physical activity. Whether or not greater motor activity in boys than girls is biologically based, socially encouraged or both, there is cross-cultural evidence that boys are generally more physically active than girls, beginning early in life and extending into adolesence (Waldrop and Halverson, 1975). Thus, the onomatopoeia produced by kindergarten age boys in this sample are not unexpected verbal correlates of thier play activities. Parents and other care-takers (including older siblings) model onomatopoeia in the production of baby talk, as we see from the teacher's example, allowing older boys to create

novel forms (i.e., not imitations of adults) in the process of peer interaction. These special lexical items associated with babies at a relatively early point in development (before 2 1/2 years) becomes gender marked for use by boys, in the Taiwan example. Clearly we need information about language socialization in the home environment and at earlier ages than the kindergarten school sample in order to understand how onomatopoeia comes to be associated with the speech of young boys.

From the examples of Chinese child discourse presented above, gender linked verbal communication features of five to eight year old girls include: lento speech, nasality, use of the following affective sentential particles: a, "reduced forcefulness", e, "proud", "vocative" and la, "impatient"; the skewing of third person pronoun ("renjia") to first person for a "modest" effect, and topical focus ("your celestial sign", "who is your sister"). Noverbally, a feminine style is communicated via kinesic displays of pouting and sideways glances. Thus, the oldest kindergarten age girls seem to retain more features of the childish and petulant sajiao style than boys do, while at the same time affecting "grown-up" airs. Whereas, gender linked communication features of three to six year old boys include, at the verbal level, forte speech, frequent use of the "impatient" particle la, and of onomatopoeia ("mmm", a power surge, and "peng", sound of fighting), and in topical choice ("space warriors"). Noverbally, boyish masculinity is asserted via a frown face, gongfu hand

gestures and expansive body movements. Thus, the oldest kindergarten age boys have mostly abandoned the sajiao style, at least in the public setting of the kindergarten, and display the "rough and tumble" style of emerging boyhood. The regular co-occurence of these verbal and nonverbal communication features in the behavior of individual cultural actors signals, reinforces, and creates gender identity and role.

Language, Gender and Culture in Taiwanese Society

In this study, I have explored how gender is encoded in the Standard Chinese of an urban Taiwanese speech community, and how gendered meanings are learned as part of the sex role socialization process. Language socialization implies both socialization through language and socialization to use language (Ochs, 1986:2). In the Vygotskian perspective, language mediates in the development of higher mental processes. These processes are qualitatively transformed by the tool which mediates them. Thus, species specific linguistic competence is transformed into a culturally specific world view via the acquisition of a particular language, as well as through the acquisition of other semeiotic systems. Chinese children in Taiwan appropriate gendered meanings from the discourse of adults and other children, and use these meanings in the cognitive organization of social categories. Chinese cosmological gender, reflected in the dualistic complementarity of the yin-yang system, inform the cultural code

and motivate social behavior. The patriarchial social order survives in transformed form in modern urban Taiwan, in which a patrilineal social structure continues to organize the relations between the sexes. Gender ideals which advocate an unequal complementarity of the sexes are learned as part of the tacit cultural knowledge which informs verbal and nonverbal gender display. In the "microecology" of everyday discourse, children practice and acquire gendered meanings that indicate their developing understanding of their proper places in the larger social order.

ENDNOTES

1. This paper is drawn from my PhD. dissertation in anthropology (Farris, 1888b) and is based on fieldwork carried out in Taipei, Taiwan, the Republic of China, in 1983-84. Financial support was provided by the University of Washington Department of Anthropology Graduate Student Travel Fund, a Woodrow Wilson National Science Foundation Women Studies Grant, a Northwest Center for Research on Women Dissertation Fellowship, and a Pacific Cultural Foundation Research Grant. I would like to thank my dissertation commitee chair, Dr. Carol Eastman, and committee members Drs. Stevan Harrell, Eugene Hunn, and Anne Yue-Hashimoto for their help and support. I am grateful to Carol Eastman and William Boltz for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

2. The wulun or "five human relations" order relations between significant social identities by specifying dominant-subordinate statuses and roles which, if properly adhered to by all parties, will produce a harmonious universe. The son is subordinate to the father, the minister to the ruler, the wife to the husband, the younger to the elder brother, and the younger to the older friend. In Chinese cosmological thought, yin, the warm, dark, negative, feminine principle ebbs and flows in tandem with yang, the hot, light, positive, masculine principle. Feminine and masculine therefore partake of yin-yang cosmology but they do not define it.

3. See Thorne and Henley (1975) and Thorne et al. (1983) for annotated bibliographies of research in the last 15 years on language and gender.

4. Labov (1970) distinguishes between indicators, markers, and stereotypes in speech features. Indicators show regular variation across speakers but are the same for individual speakers in all contexts. Markers show not only variation across speakers but also stylistic variation, so that they vary within individual speakers depending on the context. Stereotypes are markers which speakers can consciously manipulate. Labov's analysis, as Carol Eastman (personal communication) points out, is meant to describe the processes of language change. Markers in speech which receive positive evaluation by the speech community are retained, while negatively valued ones drop out. Stereotypes of men's and women's speech styles are thus a very interesting type of speech stereotype, being positively evaluated for the speech of the sex with which they are associated, but negatively valued for the opposite sex.

5. Transcription of the verbatim text of the videotapes was carried out by Alice Liou Hsiao-hsun, who is a PhD. candidate in anthropology at the University of Washington, and a native speaker of Standard (Mandarin) Chinese from Taiwan. I am grateful for her

help.

6. See Chao (1968) for a discussion of how renjia , usually meaning "others", comes to be used as a first person pronoun. Also see Farris (1988b) for a discussion of the deictic value of renjia and its association with the speech of girls and young women in Chinese society.

7. See Waldrop and Halverson (1975) for a discussion of sex-linked activity levels and games observed in the play of American children. A strong social and cultural component to the greater activity levels observed in boys must not be ruled out, however. Gary Witherspoon (personal communication) notes, for example, that in Navajo society, which is a matrilineal and matrifocused society, girls are more active and aggressive than boys. Obviously more cross-cultural research is needed in this area.

8. Syntax is least susceptible to the encoding of social meanings such as gender constructs. There has been less research on the interaction of syntax and gendered meanings than on other areas of grammar. See Janet Shibamoto (1985) for original research on gender-linked aspects of syntactic choice in the speech of Japanese men and women.

9. Young men in Taiwan are required to complete two or three years of military service upong termination of their education. In addition, all male students in colleges and universities must attend in-school military training weekly for two hours the first two years of school, as well as two echelons of military training held during summer and winter vacations. Female college and university students, on the other hand, must attend nursing training classes (Republic of China Reference Book, 1983[226).

TABLE I:Grammatical Conventions

SYMBOL	EXPLANATION
CL	classifier
CRS	Currently Relevant State (le)
DUR	durative aspect (-zhe, zai)
EXP	experiential aspect (guo)
GEN	genitive (-de)
NOM	nominalizer (de)
ORD	ordinalizer (di-)
PFV	perfective aspect (le)
Q	question (ma)
A (1)*	reduced forcefulness
(2)**	"Ah!"; "Aha!"
Ou (1)*	friendly warning
(2)**	"Oh!"
La (1)***	impatience
Ma (1)	emphatic; softener
E (1)***	pride
(2)***	vocative; "Eh?"
Aiyou (2)	"Good grief!"; "Drat!"

(from Li and Thompson, 1981)

* Affective Sentence Final Particles (1)

** Interjections (2)

*** See Farris, 1988b for a discussion of these particles and interjections in the Taiwan speech community

TABLE II: Transcribing Conventions

NOTATION	EXPLANATION
//	The point at which one speaker overlaps another. If nothing appears to the right of this symbol, speaker has been overlapped in the middle of the last syllable preceeding the slashes
[ ] If I//could [But] you can't	Brackets around part of a speaker's utterence mean the bracketed portion overlapped the previous speaker's utterance
::	Colons indicate that the immediately prior syllable is prolonged (drawled)
=	Equal sign indicates no time has elapsed between the objects latched by the marks; it also indicates that the next speaker starts at precisely the end of previous speaker's utterance
(word)	Single parentheses with words in them indicate that something was heard but the transcriber is not sure what it was
( )	single parentheses without words in them indicate that something was said but not caught by the transcriber
((lento))	double transcriptions enclose descriptions not transcribed utterances*
	NON-SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES
forte	loud
piano	soft
allegro	brisk in tempo, fast
lento	slow
nasalization	resonance through the nasal cavity
huskiness	degree of pharyngeal obstruction

(adapted from Zimmerman and West, 1975:128-129; nonsegmental features adapted from Crystal, 1971)

* Unless otherwise noted, descriptions encompass entire sentences

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